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The claim of the Korean  
people... Memorandum.

Paris

1919

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KOREAN DELEGATION

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

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THE CLAIM  
OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE AND NATION

FOR LIBERATION FROM JAPAN AND FOR THE  
RECONSTITUTION OF KOREA  
AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE

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Memorandum

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PARIS: APRIL 1919.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

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THE CLAIM OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE AND NATION  
FOR LIBERATION FROM JAPAN AND FOR THE RECONSTITUTION  
OF KOREA AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE TO BE EFFECTED BY  
AND THROUGH THE PEACE CONFERENCE DECLARING AS NULL  
AND VOID OR OTHERWISE ABROGATING THE TREATY  
CONCLUDED AT SEOUL ON AUGUST 22, 1910, WHEREBY JAPAN  
PURPORTED TO ANNEX THE EMPIRE OF KOREA

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Memorandum

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PARIS : APRIL, 1919.

## CONTENTS

Section	MEMORANDUM	Page
I.	The Claim of Korea . . . . .	1
II.	4200 Years of National Life . . . . .	1
III.	The Independence of Korea . . . . .	1
IV.	"Transactions in Freedom". . . . .	2
V.	Prussia and Japan . . . . .	2
VI.	The Protectorate of Korea . . . . .	2
VII.	The Annexation of Korea . . . . .	3
VIII.	Japanisation and Prussianisation. . . . .	3
IX.	Expropriation of Korean Landowners. . . . .	3
X.	Banning of Korean Language and History. . . . .	4
XI.	"Controlling" Korean Education. . . . .	4
XII.	"Controlling" Korean Wealth. . . . .	5
XIII.	The Korean Kitchen Knife . . . . .	5
XIV.	Japan's Hostility to Christianity. . . . .	6
XV.	Korea as "One Big Fortress" . . . . .	6
XVI.	Anglo-Saxon Work in Asia. . . . .	6
XVII.	The Policy of the Prize-Pig . . . . .	7
XVIII.	Japan Contra Mundum. . . . .	7
XIX.	Japan's Continental Policy. . . . .	7
XX.	The Policy in Operation. . . . .	8
XXI.	Menace to France . . . . .	8
	The Treaty of Shimonoseki. . . . .	8
	"Ignominious Triple Interference" . . . . .	8
XXII.	The Mastery of the Pacific. . . . .	9
	A Policy of World-Conquest . . . . .	10
XXIII.	The Japanese as the "Eternal Priestess". . . . .	10
	"From Yunnan City to Urga". . . . .	11

## APPENDICES

No. 1	The Treaty of Annexation. . . . .	15
No. 2	"The Korean Conspiracy Case". . . . .	16

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MEMORANDUM

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THE CLAIM OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE  
AND NATION FOR LIBERATION FROM JAPAN  
AND FOR THE RECONSTITUTION OF KOREA  
AS AN INDEPENDENT STATE

I  
The Claim of Korea

The Korean People and Nation hereby petition the Peace Conference to declare as null and void the Treaty of August 22, 1910 (a), whereby One Korean—the then Emperor of Korea—purported, under Japanese coercion, to cede “completely and permanently to His Majesty the Emperor of Japan all rights of sovereignty over the whole of Korea” with her then population of over Fifteen Million Koreans.

It is submitted that the present claim deals with a matter in respect of which the Peace Conference has the right and authority to take action.

The Conference meets in order to secure a settlement of the affairs of the member-nations in terms of the principles set forth in President Wilson's Fourteen Points. The “evident principle” running through the “whole program” is defined by the President in his message to Congress on January 8, 1918, as “the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak.”

As one of the Allied and Associated States, Japan has expressly accepted the Fourteen Points, with their underlying principle of justice, as the “foundation” of the “structure of international justice” to be established by the Peace Conference.

Inasmuch as this principle of justice is obviously violated by the Mikado's continued exercise of “all rights of sovereignty over the whole of Korea” without the consent and against the wishes of the Korean People and Nation, it is at once the right and the duty of the Peace Conference to declare the nullification of the aforesaid Treaty of August 22, 1910.

II  
4,200 Years of National Life

The Korean people were a nation, with a language and a culture of their own, before Japan ceased to be a land of warring tribes and unlettered people. Indeed, it is as much to Korea as to China—the other historic state now under deadly assault by Japan—that the Japanese owe not a little of their cultural development and the thoughts and ideals which have nourished their mind and enabled them to capture greatness.

This nationhood of the Korean People had lasted for more than 4,200 years when Japan consummated her work in Korea by the Treaty of August 22, 1910. And save for an intervening period when their liberties were assailed, the Koreans lived through these forty-two centuries as an independent nation, their country forming one of the separate states of Asia.

III  
The Independence of Korea

The continued existence of Korea as a separate and sovereign state was affirmed and recognised by Japan in the Treaty of Peace and Amity concluded between the Korean Government and the Japanese Government at Seoul on February 27, 1876.

a) See Appendix No. 1.

The independence of Korea as the "Kingdom of Chosen" was recognised by the United States of America in the Treaty of "Peace, Amity, Commerce and Navigation" concluded with the Korean Government on May 22, 1882, which contained the important clause that "if other Powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either Government the other will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feelings."

Korean sovereignty was also recognised and admitted by Great Britain and other Powers in their respective Treaties of peace and commerce concluded with the Korean Government.

In the Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed on April 17, 1895, Japan compelled China definitely to recognise the "full and complete independence and autonomy of Korea."

The independence of Korea was also affirmed and substantially guaranteed by Japan and Great Britain in the first Anglo-Japanese agreement of alliance concluded on January 30, 1902.

And, lastly, in a Treaty of Defensive and Offensive Alliance concluded between the Japanese Government and the Korean Government in 1904, Japan guaranteed the independence of Korea and the latter guaranteed material aid to Japan in the later prosecution of the war against Russia.

#### IV

##### "Transactions in Freedom"

It was to protect and maintain the independence and territorial integrity of Korea that Japan professed to have fought her first continental war against China in 1894-5.

And a similar purpose was alleged when Japan challenged and defeated the Tsardom in 1904-5.

That Japan emerged out of these two wars with an international prestige which no mere military victories could have won her, is mainly to be assigned to the knightly gesture expressed in what seemed in the eyes of men as high transactions in freedom.

#### V

##### Prussia and Japan

The falseness of it all is now plain. And what must be termed the bad faith and duplicity of Japan cannot fail to arrest the attention of a world already outraged by the immoral acts of a race whose home is the "spiritual home" of the leaders of Japan.

Like Prussia in her two wars against Austria and against France, Japan "prepared" for her two wars against China and against Russia; and as Prussia became the leading military Power in Europe, so Japan has become the leading military Power in Asia as a result of her "defensive" wars against the two countries that stood in the path of her continental ambitions. And in quite a true sense, it may be said that Prussia and Japan are the two modern Powers which have profited greatly from the business of war.

If there be any difference between these two predatory Powers, the same lies in the deeper immorality of Japan. Prussia conceived, prepared and won her two wars in order to forge an Imperial Germany as an instrument of European hegemony. She did not load her crime with the death of a nation whose independence and integrity had been guaranteed by her in solemn treaties. Nor did she vulgarize her great sin by meanly lying to the world and representing her policy of plunder and aggrandizement in the sense of knightly action undertaken for the protection of an endangered people.

All this and more Japan has done.

#### VI

##### The Protectorate of Korea

Within a few months of the last of the Treaties in which Japan guaranteed the perpetual independence and integrity of Korea, the Treaty of Portsmouth was concluded in which Japan compelled Russia to acknowledge that "Japan possesses in Korea paramount political, military, and economical interests" and to "engage neither to obstruct nor interfere with the measures of guidance, protection and control which the Imperial Government of Japan may find it necessary to take in Korea."

Three weeks later—i.e. on September 27, 1905—the second Treaty of Alliance between Japan and Great Britain was published. The independence of Korea, which was expressly recognised in the first Anglo-Japanese agreement, was significantly omitted in this renewal of the alliance.

This sinister omission was quickly followed, twenty days later, by the conclusion of the Treaty subjecting Korea to the protectorate of Japan. It is safe to say that this transaction is without parallel in civilized history. An account of the crime can be read in the pages of McKenzie's "Tragedy of Korea" and in the "Passing of Korea" by Homer B. Hulbert.

The Treaty of Portsmouth was hardly signed when the Marquis Ito arrived at Seoul and instantly set about to impose on Korea "measures of guidance, protection and control". The story reads like some devilish episode in the days when Europe lay in darkness.

Ito—"the Bismarck of Japan"—packed the streets of Seoul with Japanese soldiers, surrounded the Palace with a cordon of troops and forced the distraught Emperor and his Ministers, literally at the point of the bayonet, to sign the infamous Treaty of Seoul. But despite all this coercion, the Treaty was signed by neither the Emperor's Prime Minister nor his Minister for Foreign Affairs. And the Treaty was vitiated by the non-affixing of the great seal of the State Council and of that of the Foreign Office. Even under force, the great seal was not produced; and like a gesture of despair, the seal of the Foreign Office was flung into a lotus pond just as the Ministers were being driven into the Council Chamber by armed Japanese.

The History of Korea during the five years of the Protectorate is a record of deeds of fraud and terrorism possible only in the case of a Power like Japan whose soul is mediæval but whose methods are Prussian in their ruthlessness and efficiency. It is the record of a scientific barbarism applied to the work of stabbing a nation to death.

#### VII

##### The Annexation of Korea

And death soon came to Korea. In the words of a French writer "le Japon couronnait son œuvre en Corée" in the Treaty done at Seoul on August 22, 1910, which purported to hand over to "His Majesty the Emperor of Japan" an ancient Kingdom with its population of over fifteen million, as if cattle—not men—were under traffic.

Against this extinction of Korean sovereignty and the incorporation of their country as a province of Japan, the Korean People and Nation have strenuously protested and do still protest.

#### VIII

##### Japanisation and Prussianisation

This protest is founded not only on the forcible destruction of Korean liberties but on the fiercer application, by Japan in Korea, of the principles and methods practised by the Tsardom in Finland and in Russian Poland and by the German teachers of Japan in the Eastern Provinces, in Schleswig-Holstein and in Alsace-Lorraine as well as by the unspeakable Turk in Armenia.

The political cruelties involved in the Prussianisation of the Poles in the Eastern Provinces, of the Danes in Schleswig and of the French in Alsace-Lorraine are surpassed by the political enormities accompanying the Japanisation of Korea.

Although fundamental human instincts and the barrier of geography oppose her work in Korea, Japan is determined to make the country, not only in name but in reality, a Japanese province. She is trying to do this by a pitiless attempt to extirpate the great roots of patriotism: love of the soil, language of the people and the history of the country. And she is also "controlling" the two means which might render futile this organised attempt to extinguish the light of patriotism in Korea: education and wealth.

#### IX

##### Expropriation of Korean Landowners

Korean ownership of land binds Korean hearts to the ancient soil of Korea and is therefore a vigorous "root" of Korean patriotism. This ownership of land by the Korean farmer and peasant prevents also the success of Japanese colonisation in Korea, the best arable lands of



the country being naturally in the hands of the Korean agriculturists. For this double reason, the expropriation of the Korean landowner is a cardinal aim of Japanese policy in Korea.

Accordingly, a company has been organized by direction of the Japanese Government and is supported by an annual subsidy of \$250,000 from the Imperial Treasury. According to an article in the "New York Times" of January 26, 1919, the purpose of the company "is to colonize Korea with Japanese who are unable to make a living in Japan proper. A Japanese emigrant receives free transportation to Korea and is provided with a home and a piece of land, together with implements and provisions.... the colonization company sought to buy the lands of the Korean farmers. There are eighty thousand square miles of land in Korea, supporting a population of fifteen millions, mostly agriculturists, and these natives declined to part with their heritage".

"Here was where the aid of the Japanese Government", the article continues, "was besought; and secured, and the manner in which the solution of the problem was obtained was peculiarly Oriental in its subtlety. In Korea all the financial machinery centres in the Bank of Chosen, controlled by the Government and located at Seoul, the capital. Through its branches this powerful financial institution, corresponding to the Bank of England or the Treasury of the United States or the Bank of France, perhaps, called in all the specie in the country, thus making, as far as a circulating medium was concerned, the land practically valueless. In order to pay taxes and to obtain necessities of life the Korean must have cash, and in order to get it he must sell his land. Land values fell rapidly, and in some instances land was purchased by the agents of the Bank of Chosen for one-fifth of its former valuation."

"More than one-fifth of the richest lands in Korea", the article adds, "are in the hands of the Japanese immigrants who have been sent over through the operation of this scheme".

## X

### Banning the Korean Language and History

A systematic attempt is being made to replace the Korean by the Japanese language. In the schools Korean children are compelled to salute and greet their own Korean teachers in the Japanese language; and in the law courts, the judges are Japanese and the entire proceedings are conducted in the Japanese language with the result that the Korean litigant generally fails to understand what transpires, the official interpretation of the trial being always imperfect.

The teaching of Korean history is prohibited. And imprisonment, torture, banishment or worse might be the penalty if some Korean should be tempted to recite to children of the soil a traditional story or song or some folklore telling how men fought and died for Korea in other days.

## XI

### "Controlling" Korean Education

It is Japan's "control" of the education of the Korean People which strikingly reveals the "egoism" of her policy in the Peninsula.

Korea has been known as a land of scholars. And just as some countries may be said, broadly, to specialise in some particular sphere of learning and culture, so Korea in the past "specialised" in scholarship. The Italian, for instance, loves not song and music more than doth the cultured Korean love the things of the scholar. He is an artist in scholarship.

But to be a scholar, one must be educated. An educated Korean, however, is a unit of protest against Japanese tyranny in Korea, since education—particularly modern education—breeds thoughts and ideals that deny the right of one nation holding another nation in political servitude.

Therefore, not only is the teaching of Korean history prohibited in Korean schools but any and every department of Western learning calculated, if pursued beyond a certain point, to encourage what Count Terauchi—the Japanese proconsul who "annexed" Korea—calls "dangerous thoughts", is either forbidden or taught in an emasculated sense.

His policy of a "limited education" explains why the Korean student is denied free access to the road to higher learning in arts, sciences, laws, politics, economics and industries and is also absolutely prohibited from going to Europe or the United States to seek a Western or modern education, even at his or her own expense.

This same policy also explains the forcible suppression of 360 Christian schools and hundreds of other private institutions in Korea. It further explains the following statistics published in the report of the Government General in Korea for the year ending 1917.

For a population of 16,648,129 Koreans, the Japanese Authorities established schools at which only 86,410 Koreans pupils were being taught as follows:

441 Common or Primary Schools.....	81,845 pupils.
7 Higher Common Schools.....	1,791 "
74 Elementary Schools of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry.....	2,029 "
1 Law School.....	138 "
1 Medical School.....	253 "
1 Industrial School.....	282 "
1 School of Agriculture and Forestry.....	72 "
totalling 526 schools of all grades, attended by.....	86,410 pupils.

Whereas for a Japanese immigrant population of 320,938, the Authorities established 367 special Japanese schools of all grades which were attended by 42,467 Japanese pupils as follows:

342 Primary Schools.....	37,911 pupils.
3 Middle Schools.....	1,478 "
10 Girls' High Schools (Public).....	1,648 "
7 Commercial Colleges.....	899 "
1 Colonial School of the Oriental Development Co.....	18 "
4 Private Schools, Commercial and Technical.....	513 "

The foregoing facts justify the following statement of Japan's educational policy in Korea, which has appeared in the American press and stands uncontradicted: "Under Japanese rule all national aspirations [in Korea] are opposed and measures are taken to prevent the development of patriotism. This is done systematically, in many different ways. One of the greatest and most effective agencies used by Japan to this end is the stifling of higher education and the limitations placed upon the schools. Korean history cannot be taught and after the student has advanced a little way he must stop school altogether....."

## XII

### "Controlling" Korean Wealth

Nearly every wealthy Korean is obliged to have a Japanese overseer at his house, controlling his properties and finances.

Koreans with deposits in the Banks—which are all Japanese institutions—cannot withdraw large amounts at one time without disclosing to the Banks the purpose or purposes for which the money is to be used.

## XIII

### The Korean Kitchen Knife

Koreans are generally prohibited the use of fire-arms or having the same in any shape or form in their possession.

And it is not a little interesting to note that an American investigator, in the course of his inquiries into the state of Korea under the Japanese, found that no family in some places was permitted to own the Korean kitchen knife which has been in common use from time immemorial. One such knife had to be shared by five or six families and, when not in use, it had to be hung at a spot in full view of the beat of a Japanese gendarme. The report of this American investigator has not been published owing to the official view regarding the inexpediency of its publication.

### Japan's Hostility to Christianity

In the belief that Christianity breeds a spirit of self-respect inconsistent with the state of submission demanded by Japanese policy in Korea, the Mikado's government has been envisaging the work of the Christian Missions in the country as opposed to vital Japanese interests. For this reason, every effort is made by the Japanese Authorities—particularly through their police agents—to discourage and obstruct Christian missionary work in Korea.

A signal instance of this official Japanese hostility to Christianity in Korea is afforded by the cruel persecution of Korean Christians involved in what is known as "The Korean Conspiracy Case" (1).

Is not the gravest indictment of Japan's work in Korea to be read in the fact that Christianity is seriously regarded as a force hostile to the success of the Japanese system of government in the country?

### Korea as "One Big Fortress"

With a gesture of achievement, Japan points to the material improvements effected by her in Korea. She has built railroads that extend beyond the frontier and penetrate into South Manchuria which is already within the grip of the Korean railway system. She has constructed highway and streets and set up imposing modern buildings for the housing of the Japanese army of officials "running" the country. And no doubt the sanitary condition of certain urban centres has been improved.

About all this work of "improvement and progress" in the material life of Korea, you can read—every twelvemonth—in the splendidly illustrated pages of the "Annual Report" issued by the Government-General of Chosen (Korea)<sup>2</sup>. No expense seems to be spared in the preparation and production of this annual publication. It is reckoned among the chief weapons of Japanese propaganda abroad.

But in spite of the "reforms" yearly listed in the "Annual Report", the following arraignment of Japan's policy in Korea continues true and unanswerable. It is from a leading article in the "Shin Nippon", a Japanese newspaper, which had the courage to criticise the Japanese Authorities in connexion with the "Korean Conspiracy Case":

"Count Terauchi is trying by every means to crush the rising of the native Koreans against his administration, even at the expense of his countrymen's interest in the peninsula. His press censorship, espionage policy, and factory legislation were all due to his fear of a rising of the Koreans.... The Governor-General's desire is to make the peninsula one big fortress, and he seems to regard all those engaged in industrial or commercial work in Korea as mere camp followers within the walls of the barracks."

It is also well to remember that "most of these reforms, valuable as they are, may be found in a well-regulated penal colony" (c) and that all of them have been effected or introduced at the expense of the Korean taxpayer in the interest and for the benefit of the Japanese Settler for whom the Japanese Authorities desire to make Korea an attractive field of colonisation.

### Anglo-Saxon Work in Asia

These are only a few of the ruthless facts featuring the work of Japan in Korea. In aim and spirit as well as in methods, this work differs greatly from the labours of Anglo-Saxon workers in Asia.

In India and Further India, the Englishman to-day rules in the interest of the native. He has committed mistakes, and, may-be, he still blunders. But he administers these great regions of Asia as a trust and in the spirit of a trustee.

b) See Appendix N° 2.

c. "The Korean Conspiracy Case", by Arthur Judson Brown; New York.

It is, however, in the Philippines that the work of the Anglo-Saxons as a trustee-nation is seen in terms unobscured by what may be called the ambiguities of imperialism. Here, the American has not been satisfied to work as a trustee for an indefinite period. He has educated the Filipino not only to assist but eventually to replace him in the government of the country.

And late advices from Washington, D.C. indicate that the American is already viewing the independence of the Philippines as a necessary term of the international settlement which is to make the world safe for democracy.

### The Policy of the Prize-Pig

But in Korea, the Japanese rules and administers the country in the spirit and by the methods of a master-nation or, more accurately, a profiteer-nation.

Except in the sense that cattle or slaves must be taken care of if they are to be of value to their owner, the welfare of the Korean People is not an aim of government with Japan.

The "improvements" loudly advertised in the annual reports of the Korean Government-General are made either for the encouragement of Japanese settlers or in the interests of what may be truly described as the policy of the prize-pig i.e. for much the same reason that a breeder fattens his pig for a show.

### Japan Contra Mundum

In addition to these reasons connected directly with the fate of the Korean People, the vital interests of the world—particularly the Asiatic interests of France as well as the Asiatic and Pacific interests of Great Britain and the United States—demand the dis-annexation of Korea and the liberation of her People from Japan.

Reference has already been made to Japan's envisagement of Christianity in Korea as an inimical force. And it is possible that the Mikado's advisers bethink themselves of the anti-Christian policy of Caesarian Rome. But the Caesars opposed Christianity as a religion and not—as is the case of Japan to-day—in the belief that it was a moral and intellectual force that challenged the subjection of an entire nation and its exploitation by the methods of a political slavery.

In trade and commerce, Japan is gradually eliminating the Western trader and merchant in Korea and transferring to the exclusive hands of her own people a business which has had its origin in the series of treaties of peace and commerce concluded between Korea and the foreign Powers.

In this elimination of Western competition, Japan continues true to that instinct for exclusion which, in the past, found expression in her rigidly guarded isolation and which to-day expresses itself, for instance, in the prohibition of foreign ownership of land in Japan and in the attempt to EXCLUDE FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN FAR ASIA through the application of a false Monroe Doctrine for the Far East.

### Japan's Continental Policy

It is, however, in the far-reaching political aims of Japan—realisable eventually through her continued annexation of Korea—that France as well as England and America must be vitally interested.

The danger to the non-Japanese world, including especially the three Latin and Anglo-Saxon Powers, lies in Japan's unfettered prosecution of her CONTINENTAL POLICY.

This policy aims, first, at the seizure of the hegemony of Asia through the Domination and Control of the Man-Power and the "Natural Resources" of China—possible only by the Japanese possession of the continental point d'appui of Korea—and, next, at the Mastery of the Pacific Ocean as the sole means of forcing an entrance for Japanese emigrants into the rich lands of the Australias and the Pacific Seaboard of the United States.

### The Policy in Operation

The Continental Policy of Japan has already found its partial expression in the two successful wars waged by Japan against China in 1894-5 and against Russia in 1904-5 and in the annexation of Korea on August 22, 1910.

The Japanese possession of Korea renders Chinese sovereignty in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia impossible. And with the eventual inclusion of these strategic regions within the territorial framework of Japan's Continental Policy, the military or the "pacific" conquest of the lands of China and 400,000,000 Chinese is inevitable.

This is not the language of hypothesis or prophecy. It is a simple statement of the deliberately expressed intention and plan of the Japanese Government as set forth in the famous set of Twenty-One Demands which Tokio presented to Peking on January 18, 1915, and secured in certain Treaties and Notes signed by the Chinese Government in compliance with an Ultimatum threatening war (d).

## XXI

### The Menace to France

The eventual domination of China—which the continued subjugation of Korea will enable Japan to secure—is a specific menace to France as an Asiatic power.

The subjugation of China to the military will of a war-organized state like Japan and the necessary entrenchment of the latter in the Chinese province of Yunnan which abounds in tin and dominates the rear of Indo-China, must constitute an obviously political and "strategic" menace to the Asiatic dominions of France. And as the continued possession of these dominions by France is a vital element in the prestige and glory of the Third Republic as a world-power, the Quai d'Orsay must, of course, realize the significance of a Japanese hegemony in Asia which is based on the control and direction of Chinese man-power and resources by Japan.

But the menace to France is not a mere "strategic deduction". It is a political reality. Indeed it is one of the three unavowed aims of Japan; and because it is rooted in *revanche*, the Japanese menace to France will continue an actual danger to the Third Republic.

### The Treaty of Shimonoeki

France's war-debt to Japan dates from the revision of the Treaty of Shimonoeki in 1895, when the Tokio Government was forced to agree to the retrocession to China of the Liaoting Peninsula, including the great fortress of Port Arthur, whose cession "in perpetuity and full sovereignty" had been secured by Japan as one of the fruits of her victory over China.

Russia, Germany and France viewed the cession of the Liaoting Peninsula as an act demanding their joint intervention and insisted on its cancellation and the withdrawal of Japan from the Asiatic mainland.

Japan obeyed. But she instantly began to work for the reversal of the decree of the Triple Powers, since the possession of the Liaoting Peninsula was a vital factor in the successful prosecution of her Continental Policy. It meant the possession of the threshold of Far Asia, with direct entrance into Manchuria and Korea.

Not only the "necessities" of high policy but the spirit of revenge spurred on Japan to the vast preparations which culminated in her victorious war with Russia in 1904-5 and regained her coveted piece of Chinese territory.

The outbreak of the war in 1914 gave her another opportunity to work out her Continental Policy with its edge of revenge against Germany. Just as she had defeated Russia and supplanted her in South Manchuria so she next defeated Germany in Kiaochow and supplanted her in the Chinese province of Shantung.

### The "Ignominious Triple Interference"

It is significant that, while this Triple intervention used to be ascribed—before the Russo-Japanese War—to the action of "Russia, Germany and France" and—since that war but before the ejection of Germany from Kiaochow—to the action of "Germany, France and Russia", the

(d) The Chinese Delegation to the Peace Conference are reported to be claiming the abrogation of these Treaties and Notes on the ground, *inter alia*, that they subject China to Japanese domination.

Japanese are now referring it to the action of "France, Germany and Russia". For instance, in a recent statement of "The Case for Japan", Baron Makino deemed it necessary to emphasize the fact that the retrocession of the Liaoting Peninsula was due to the "force majeure" of a "protest from France, Germany and Russia." And Viscount Chiinda, another of the Japanese Peace Delegates, has also considered it expedient to explain that his people regard the said intervention as an "ignominious triple interference" (e). These references may seem a little meticulous to the French mind; but they are big with meaning and menace when you know the Japanese mind with its strange, subtle mode of working.

And not the least important consideration in this connection is the fact that a successful Japanese war with France might mean the extension of the territorial system of Japan to Indo-China which would bring Japan within swifter striking power of Middle Asia and those islands of the South Seas, regarded by responsible Japanese publicists as the "necessary tropical complement" of a Greater Japan, puissant and self-sufficing.

## XXII

### The Mastery of the Pacific

Japan's Continental Policy menaces the Anglo-Saxon Powers just as much as it does France, if not more so.

Japanese imperialists claim that Japan's yearly surplus population justifies the demand for territorial extension involved in her Continental Policy. And it is said that the "exportable margin" of her population must be sent to Korea, to South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia and the historic provinces of China.

While the emigration of this "exportable margin" may become a serious question in about five more decades if the "Sexual Law" of the Jungle continue in operation in Japan, it appears that Japanese propaganda is deliberately exaggerating the facts of the case in order to create a belief abroad that Japanese emigration is at once an economic and political necessity that demands immediate relief.

According to Japanese political thought, this "immediate relief" must be secured through Japanese colonisation in Korea and China and, if possible, through Japanese emigration to Australasia and America.

But the Japanese know that they suffer from disabilities of physique and character which must prevent them from successfully colonising either Korea or China in the sense of finding a new home in either of these countries.

Their insular and physiographical environment has developed the Japanese into a physical type that cannot thrive on continental Asia and is unfitted, for instance, to withstand the rigours of life on the wind-swept plains of Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. And the conditions of their island-existence have rendered it impossible for the Japanese to live in tracts of country without that element of the picturesque which the sea and the volcanic origin of the Islands of Japan have introduced into every Japanese landscape.

There are historic areas in China where, no doubt, the Japanese could live. But these "places in the sun"—as the Prussian teachers of Japan would call them—are and have been for centuries over-populated by the Chinese themselves.

It is, therefore, elsewhere than on the continent of Asia that Japan must send her "exportable margin" of population. And responsible Japanese publicists make no secret of the national desire for an outlet in the lands of promise lying in Australia and the United States. Thither, however, the Japanese may not go. But thither he is "determined" to go.

And just as Japan "prepared" for the war against China and for the war against the Tsardom and was ready when fortune placed Germany within her power and is to-day "waiting" for the hour when France shall make amends for her participation in the "ignominious triple interference", so Japan is now engaged at the work of "preparation" which is to give complete expression to her Continental Policy, i.e.

A colossal struggle with the Anglo-Saxon Powers to end in the conversion of the Pacific into a "Japanese Lake" and the unrestricted entrance of the Japanese immigrant into Australasia and the United States.

(e) "Washington Star", February 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1919.

## A Policy of World-Conquest

A bold conception.... a thing of audacity; and, perhaps, the Anglo-Saxon may envisage it as a dream beyond man's attempt. But similar schemes of world conquest are not unknown in history; and the great war has revealed the harbouring of a like scheme by the German mind. And let it be remembered that the rulers of Japan have organised her as a war-state after the Prussian type and that her continental policy, that is, her POLICY OF WORLD-CONQUEST has already found expression:

- (a) in two successful wars which have made her the greatest military power in Asia in much the same way as Prussia's two wars made her the greatest military power in Europe;
- (b) in the annexation of Korea;
- (c) in the gradual substitution of Japanese for Chinese authority in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia;
- (d) in the attempt now being made to secure at the Peace Conference the succession of Japan to German holdings and privileges in the sacred Chinese province of Shantung, including Kiaochow;
- (e) in the growing subjection of China, with her incalculable man-power and resources, to Japanese domination by and through the same set of methods which made the annexation of Korea a "political necessity"; and
- (f) in the Japanese possession of the "South Sea Islands north of the Equator" which brings JAPAN NEARLY TWO THOUSAND MILES CLOSER TO AUSTRALIA and gives the Japanese Navy a base which dominates the most strategic and important region of the Pacific.

## XXIII

### The Japanese as the "Eternal Priestess"

The Korean People and Nation finally submit that the imposition of Japanese civilisation on Korea (f) and its spread, through Japan's Continental Policy, in Asia and the regions of the Pacific: is opposed to the interests of the world and to the moral progress of the human race.

Japanese life is disfigured by its dangerous looseness of views regarding the relations of the sexes. Impartial foreign investigators report that, while prostitution infests cities in the West, the vice infests cities and VILLAGES in Japan. It is not only the Government official and *marikin* (*nouveau riche*) who are the clients of the *geisha* but even the village schoolmaster.

It has been estimated that Japan made, at one time, more out of her women engaged in prostitution abroad than out of her export of coal. This estimate was based on the fact that, when a Japanese sells his daughter for service, he receives Yen 250 per annum for three years. This sum is the equivalent of interest at 5% p.a. on a capital sum of Yen 5000. And in pre-war days, there were in Irkutsk 110 Japanese houses of ill fame; and the Japanese as an "ETERNAL PRIESTESS" was to be found in large numbers in every city in Eastern Siberia—in Habarovsk, Blagovistschensk, Vladivostok.

To-day, a moderate estimate fixes the number of Japanese prostitutes in Manchuria at 10,000. It is calculated that the consular fees paid by these women cover the entire cost of the Japanese civil administration in the province, each having to pay a monthly sum of (Mexican) \$3 to her consul.

The Japanese prostitute is also to be found in every treaty port in China, in Saigon and other places in Indo-China, in Bangkok and elsewhere in Siam, in Singapore—where one report states "here are streets of them"—in Penang and then on to India. Here the note of a British observer may be textually quoted: "Streets of Japanese prostitutes in Bombay and Kurrachee. Industry is thriving. They are only waiting the opportunity to push their way into Mesopotamia and challenge competition with the Armenians."

(f) "Shortly after annexation the Japanese government permitted Japanese agents to travel through the country selling morphine and developing the morphine habit among the Koreans. Then came prostitutes. To-day there are thousands of prostitutes brought over from Japan, who are inoculating Korean society with those terrible evils of social vice for which Japan as a race is almost proverbial. There are the public baths which the Japanese have instituted, where bathing is promiscuous. To Korean modesty and Korean standards of virtue this is a serious menace and will have on the growing generation far-reaching consequences. Between prostitution, public baths and gambling old Korean ideals stand in great peril." From a recent pamphlet on the Korean Question by J.E. Moore, an American born in Korea.

She also flourishes in Borneo, Madagascar, Zanzibar, South Africa; and at one time the "monopoly of recognised prostitution round the coast of Australia was in the hands of the Japanese."

### "From Yunnan City to Urga"

A concluding note must be added. It is a quotation from a striking article which appeared in a recent issue of the "North China Daily News", the leading British paper in the Far East. The facts disclosed in the article have compelled the Japanese Government through the Japanese Embassy in London to promise remedial action:

"Everywhere Japanese prostitution, the systematic extension of which from Yunnan City to Urga is such an inspiring evidence of our Asiatic allies, goes hand in hand with the sale of morphia."

"Morphia, no longer purchasable in Europe, is manufactured now in well-equipped laboratories in Japan and in Formosa. During recent years the bulk of the Persian opium coming into the market has been purchased by Japan for conversion into morphia, for Persian opium yields a larger percentage of morphia than Indian opium. Opium grown in Korea, the cultivation of which it is interesting to note followed immediately upon the closing of the opium shops in Shanghai (by the Chinese authorities), Japanese officials providing the seeds, is an ever expanding source of the supply of morphia, and it may be added, of opium required by the (Japanese) administration of Formosa."

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APPENDICES

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## THE ANNEXATION OF KOREA

The following Treaty was signed at Seoul on August 22, 1910:

S.M. l'Empereur du Japon et S.M. l'Empereur de Corée, en vue des relations spéciales et étroites entre leurs pays respectifs, désirant augmenter le bien-être commun des deux nations et assurer la paix permanente en l'Extrême-Orient, et étant convaincus que ces buts pourront être le mieux atteints par l'annexion de la Corée à l'empire du Japon ont résolu de conclure un traité de cette annexion et ont nommé à cet effet pour leurs plénipotentiaires, savoir:

S.M. l'Empereur du Japon,  
Le Vicomte Masakata Terauchi, son Résident général, et  
S.M. l'Empereur de Corée,  
Yen Wan Yong, son Ministre-président d'État,

Lesquels, par suite des conférences et délibérations mutuelles, sont convenus des articles suivants:

ARTICLE PREMIER. — S.M. l'Empereur de Corée fait la cession complète et permanente à S.M. l'Empereur du Japon de tous les droits de la souveraineté sur la totalité de la Corée.

ART. 2. — S.M. l'Empereur du Japon accepte la cession mentionnée dans l'article précédent et consent à l'annexion complète de la Corée à l'empire du Japon.

ART. 3. — S.M. l'Empereur du Japon accordera à LL. MM. l'Empereur et l'ex-Empereur et à S.A. le prince héritier de Corée et à leurs épouses et héritiers, des titres dignités et honneurs qui sont appropriés à leurs rangs respectifs, et des dons annuels seront faits pour maintenir ces titres, dignités et honneurs.

ART. 4. — S.M. l'Empereur du Japon accordera aussi des honneurs et traitements appropriés aux membres de la maison impériale de Corée et à leurs héritiers autres que ceux mentionnés dans l'article précédent; et des fonds nécessaires, pour maintenir ces honneurs et traitements leurs seront octroyés.

ART. 5. — S.M. l'Empereur du Japon confèrera la prairie et des dons pécuniaires à ceux des Coréens qui, à cause de services méritoires, sont considérés dignes de ces reconnaissances spéciales.

ART. 6. — Par suite de l'annexion ci-dessus mentionnée, le gouvernement du Japon prend le gouvernement et l'administration de la Corée et s'engage à accorder l'entière protection aux personnes et propriétés des Coréens qui obéissent aux lois en vigueur en Corée et à accroître le bien-être de tous ces Coréens.

ART. 7. — Le gouvernement du Japon, en tant que les circonstances le permettent, emploiera dans les services publics du Japon en Corée, ceux des Coréens qui acceptent le nouveau régime loyalement et de bonne foi et y sont dûment qualifiés.

ART. 8. — Le présent traité ayant été approuvé par S.M. l'Empereur du Japon et par S.M. l'Empereur de Corée, produira son effet à partir du jour de sa promulgation.

En foi de quoi, etc.

### "The Korean Conspiracy Case"

The following extracts are from a pamphlet entitled "The Korean Conspiracy Case", issued in New York on November 20, 1912, as the "outcome of a conference of representatives of all the missionary organizations of the United States... conducting work in Korea with several eminent hymen... connected with these organizations and whose counsel was sought because their international reputation and their detachment from the missionary interests immediately involved fitted them to give dispassionate advice".

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The interest of the civilized world has been aroused by the difficulties that have developed in Korea and which have culminated in the arrest, trial and conviction of a large number of Korean Christians on a charge of conspiring to assassinate Count Terauchi, the Governor General. The circumstances raise some grave questions in which Western peoples are deeply concerned. It is true that from the viewpoint of international law and diplomatic intercourse these questions primarily relate to Japan's treatment of her own subjects; but it is also true that it may be said of nations, as of individuals, that "none of us liveth to himself". Mankind has passed the stage where it is indifferent to what any government does to a subject race.

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Evidences have been multiplying for more than a year that (the Japanese) military party is now in the saddle. Uniformed gendarmes swarm in Korea, particularly in the North. Secret police are ubiquitous. Spies attend every meeting of Koreans. All organizations are suspected of revolutionary designs. We do not know that they had, but every country in Asia is honeycombed with spies and societies of various kinds, many of them more or less political. The Koreans would be lacking in the commonest elements of human nature if some of them might not have thought of doing what every subject people has done since the world began—take secret counsel as to how the yoke of the alien conqueror might be thrown off.

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From all political movements, however, the missionaries and the leading Korean Christians resolutely sought to keep the Churches aloof. Obedience to the "powers that be" was preached from every pulpit. The Church must have nothing to do with politics, the Christians were told... So strong was this determination of the missionaries and Korean Church leaders that it was not uncommon for Koreans outside the Churches to turn Christians with being on the side of the enemies of their country and for the missionaries to be told that if it were not for them, a revolution would have been started long ago.

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The missionaries are the great men of Korea. While they cannot control the political activities of the hundreds of thousands of Korean Christians, they have used their great influence to induce the Koreans to acquiesce in the Japanese rule. Indeed, it has often been said that if it had not been for the missionaries, a revolution would have broken out when Korea was annexed to Japan. The Japanese fully appreciate this; but they are restive under a situation in which foreigners apparently have power to make or unmake a revolution among their own subjects. Japanese national pride demands Japanese supremacy within Japanese territory. A Japanese official who sees himself overshadowed by an American missionary is more or less unconsciously jealous

and is apt to feel that such preeminence is prejudicial to the interests of Japan and that it must be broken.

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In the fall of 1911, the Japanese suspicion of the Churches began to find more open expression in the arrest of leading Korean Christians... many of the men and boys were kept in jail for months without food or clothing for the cold weather, without knowing the charges against them, and without being permitted to have legal counsel. Other arrests were made in other places until a considerable number of Christians were in jail... the number of arrested men that were sent from the provincial towns to Seoul... were said by the "Seoul Press" of April 19, 1912 to have been 150.

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... the Japanese authorities announced that they had discovered a conspiracy, that the specific charge against the men and youths whom they had arrested was a participation in a plot to murder Governor General Terauchi, and that under preliminary police examination the accused men had "confessed" their guilt. The public trial began June 28, 1912, before the District Court of Seoul... It is deeply to be regretted that the trial proved to be of such a character as to strengthen the grave fears regarding the methods of the Japanese. The methods of procedure impress a Western mind as peculiar. The lawyers for the defence were not permitted to confer with their clients until shortly before the public trial, months after the prosecution had prepared its case with freest secret access to the prisoners. When their lawyers were given permission to see them, the conversations were in the presence of a scowling police so that the sorely beset men could imagine what their jailers would do to them afterwards if anything was said that did not please them. The enormous voluminous records of the case were not made accessible to the counsel for the defence until it was too late to give them proper study or to verify the allegations of facts. In court, all questions were asked and witnesses examined through and at the option of the presiding Judge. The jury system has not reached Japan, and the whole course of trial showed that the Judges had made up their minds before the trial and that they were in effect judges, jury and prosecuting attorneys combined... As the trial proceeded the hostile and unjust attitude of the Court became more and more apparent. Innumerable questions by the Judges were clearly intended to be traps for the men whom they were trying. When one of the pastors was tripped in a slight verbal inaccuracy, the presiding Judge loudly called him "a lying Jesus doctrine pastor" and peremptorily dismissed him. At this the whole Court laughed heartily...

Finally, the perversion of justice became so gross that on July 17th, the counsel for the defence boldly refused to proceed and announced that they "felt it proper to state their opinion that the trial was not being conducted in a regular manner and in accordance with Art. 41 in the Code of Criminal Procedure, for the honour of the Imperial Judiciary and with a view to the full defence of the accused", and they therefore applied for the unseating of the Chief Judge Tsukahara and his colleagues and for a new trial under different judges. The Court announced a suspension of the trial, pending appeal to a higher Court for the assignment of other judges. The appeal was overruled, and after some delay, the trial was resumed August 23rd, but was brought to a close in the unexpectedly short period of four days. The Judges reserved their decision till September 28th when they sentenced 105 of the defendants to terms of imprisonment—6 for ten years, 18 for seven years, 39 for six years, 42 for five years... Among those who received the ten-year sentence was Baron Yun Chi Ho, President of the Southern Methodist College at Songdo and Vice-President of the Korean Y.M.C.A.





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